



March 1, 2004

## Can You Guess Who Made These Justifications For Using Force Against Saddam Hussein?

1) “There is **unmistakable evidence** that Saddam Hussein is working aggressively to develop nuclear weapons and will likely have nuclear weapons within the next 5 years. He could have it earlier if he is able to obtain fissile materials on the outside market, which is possible—difficult but possible. **We also should remember we have always underestimated the progress that Saddam Hussein has been able to make in the development of weapons of mass destruction.**”

2) “I believe the record of Saddam Hussein’s ruthless, reckless breach of international values and standards of behavior which is at the core of the cease-fire agreement, with no reach, no stretch, is **cause enough for the world community to hold him accountable by use of force, if necessary.**”

3) “But that isn’t just a future threat. **Saddam’s existing biological and chemical weapons capabilities pose real threats to America today, tomorrow.** Saddam has used chemical weapons before, both against Iraq’s enemies and against his own people. **He is working to develop delivery systems like missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles that could bring these deadly weapons against U.S. forces and U.S. facilities in the Middle East.** He could make these weapons available to many terrorist groups, third parties, which have contact with his government. Those groups, in turn, could bring those weapons into the United States and unleash a devastating attack against our citizens. I fear that greatly.”

4) “As the attacks of September 11 demonstrated, the immense destructiveness of modern technology means **we can no longer afford to wait around for a smoking gun...I do believe Iraq poses an imminent threat.** I also believe after September 11, that question is increasingly outdated. It is in the nature of these weapons that he has and the way they are targeted against civilian populations, that documented capability and demonstrated intent may be the only warning we get. **To insist on further evidence could put some of our fellow Americans at risk. Can we afford to take that chance? I do not think we can.**”

5) “**If the world decides it must use force for his failure to abide by the terms of surrender, then it is not preempting, it is enforcing.** It is enforcing, it is finishing a war he reignited, because the only reason the war stopped is he sued for peace.”

6) “In the four years since the inspectors [left], intelligence reports show that Saddam Hussein has worked to rebuild his chemical and biological weapons stock, his missile delivery capability, and his nuclear program. . . . **It is clear, however, that if left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will continue to increase his capability to wage biological and chemical warfare, and will keep trying to develop nuclear weapons.**”

7) “**I believe that Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime represents a clear threat to the United States, to our allies, to our interests around the world, and to the values of freedom and democracy we hold dear . . . .**Thousands of terrorist operatives around the world would pay anything to get their hands on Saddam's arsenal, and there is every possibility that he could turn his weapons over to these terrorists. . . . **we can hardly ignore the terrorist threat, and the serious danger that Saddam would allow his arsenal to be used in aid of terror.**”

8) “**The lessons we learned following September 11 were that we can't wait to be attacked again, particularly when it involves weapons of mass destruction.** So regrettably, Saddam has not done the right thing, which is to disarm, and we're left with no alternative but to take action.”

9) “**I have seen enough evidence.** I don't know if I've seen all the evidence, but **I've seen enough to be satisfied** that there has been a continuing effort by Saddam Hussein since the end of the Gulf War, particularly since 1998, to re-establish and enhance Iraq's capacity of weapons of mass destruction – chemical, biological and nuclear.”

10) “As long as he remains in power in Iraq, he will be a threat to the United States, to his neighbors, and to his own people. . . . **The threat that Saddam Hussein continues to pose to our national security interests, and his failure to abide by previous United Nation's Security Council resolutions, provides sufficient justification should military action become necessary.**”

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Answers:

- 1) **Sen. John D. Rockefeller (D-WV)**, Member, Senate Select Intelligence Committee and Senate Foreign Relations Committee, speaking on U.S. Senate floor, 10/10/02
- 2) **Sen. John F. Kerry (D-MA)**, Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, speaking on U.S. Senate floor, 10/09/02
- 3) **Sen. John D. Rockefeller (D-WV)**, speaking on U.S. Senate floor, 10/10/02
- 4) **Sen. John D. Rockefeller (D-WV)**, speaking on U.S. Senate floor, 10/10/02
- 5) **Sen. Joseph R. Biden (D-DE)**, then-Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, speaking on U.S. Senate floor, 10/09/02
- 6) **Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY)**, Member, Senate Armed Services Committee, speaking on U.S. Senate floor, 10/10/02
- 7) **Sen. John Edwards (D-NC)**, Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, speaking on U.S. Senate floor, 9/12/02
- 8) **Sen. Evan Bayh (D-IN)**, Member, Senate Armed Services Committee and Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, speaking on Fox News “The O'Reilly Factor,” 3/17/03
- 9) **Sen. Bob Graham (D-FL)**, then-Chairman, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, speaking on CBS's “Face The Nation,” 12/8/02
- 10) **Sen. Tim Johnson (D-SD)**, Member, Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, speaking on U.S. Senate floor, 9/26/02

[Note: All emphasis added; quoted material is from GPO's *Congressional Record* online, with the exceptions of numbers 8 and 9.]